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of the Socialist Unity Party  
of Germany**

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## **Communiqué of the Tenth Session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany**

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany met on 28 and 29 April 1969.

The report of the Political Bureau was given by Comrade Erich Honecker.

Comrade Kurt Hager spoke on basic questions of intellectual life under Socialism.

Eleven comrades took part in the discussion. Comrade Walter Ulbricht made the concluding speech.

The Central Committee confirmed the report of the Political Bureau and the speech on "Basic Questions of Intellectual Life under Socialism". It adopted a decision on preparations for the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin and its point of view on the results of the March session of the Commission to Prepare the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.



## **Decision of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Germany for the Preparation of the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin**

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) addresses the members and candidates of the SED, all parties and organizations united in the National Front of Democratic Germany, all citizens of the GDR, all workers, cooperative farmers, intellectuals and all other working people, and young people, with the appeal to prepare for the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilych Lenin on 22 April 1970 jointly with the Soviet people and the whole of progressive mankind, and to celebrate it in a worthy manner.

In Vladimir Ilych Lenin we honour the brilliant leader and teacher of the working people of the whole world, the burning revolutionary and passionate internationalist, scientist of genius and outstanding statesman, the creator of the first proletarian militant party of a new type and the founder of the Soviet state, the world's first Socialist state.

Vladimir Ilych Lenin continued the work of Marx and Engels and enriched Marxism with new perceptions. He scientifically substantiated the universal superiority of Socialism over capitalism and proved that the victory of Socialism on a world scale is inevitable. His teachings on the role of the party, the Socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, his outstanding theoretical works in the field of political economy, philosophy and scientific Socialism as well as his successful practical political activity give generations of working people instructions for action. Leninism is Marxism of the 20th century, the epoch of the collapse of the capitalist system, the epoch of the social revolution of the

proletariat, the democratic and national-colonial revolutions, the epoch of the victory of Socialism and Communism.

Lenin set forth the theory of imperialism being the highest and final stage of capitalism and discovered the law of the unequal economic and political development of capitalist countries under imperialism. He drew from this the conclusion, decisive for historical development, of the possibility and necessity of the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the victory of Socialism in one country. In the Great October Socialist Revolution the Party of Bolsheviks, founded and organized by Lenin and fighting under his leadership, led the working class in alliance with all working people of tsarist Russia to victory over their exploiters. The world's first Socialist state came into existence and grew strong, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been steeled in the fire of three revolutions. Its selfless, heroic struggle and its creative work were the foundation for the upsurge of the Soviet Union into a Socialist world power which serves all progressive forces as an unassailable basis in the struggle for social progress, peace, democracy and Socialism. Since its foundation, the Soviet state created by Lenin has exerted a decisive influence on the entire international development. The historic experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have become a part of the international treasury of Marxism-Leninism. The whole world has become convinced of the gigantic influence of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its founder and leader, Vladimir Ilych Lenin, on the course of social development.

It is one of the central ideas of Leninism that the correct political leadership of the working people in their struggle against imperialism and for the solution of the great tasks of the construction of Socialist and Communist society in all spheres can be realized only by a party which, as the vanguard of the class, as the highest form of its socio-political organization, is guided by the revolutionary theories of Marxism.

Lenin thereby gave the working class in all countries a clear outlook in the struggle against imperialist war and capitalist exploitation. He became the acknowledged leader of the world proletariat. The wealth of his ideas, his firm principled struggle

for the purity of Marxism, against revisionist and dogmatic distortions of revolutionary theory, are outstanding examples of revolutionary thought and action.

V. I. Lenin exerted a profound influence on the development of the German working-class movement. With Lenin's direct help, the Communist Party of Germany became a revolutionary party of struggle, a party of a new type.

After the defeat of Nazism by the glorious Soviet Army the working class united and erected, under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and in alliance with the working peasants and other sections of working people the German Democratic Republic, the first truly democratic and peace-loving state in the history of Germany. In carrying through the anti-fascist and democratic revolution as well as the Socialist revolution the party of the working class was always guided by the teachings of Lenin, especially his theory on the transition of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the Socialist revolution.

In the German Democratic Republic the working people exercise power under the leadership of the working class. Under the complicated conditions of struggle against the West German imperialists and militarists they have led socialist relations of production to victory, peacefully and democratically. In accordance with the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the SED they are shaping the developed social system of Socialism.

The developed social system of Socialism and its principal part, the economic system, are the concrete application of Lenin's concept of Socialist society under our conditions. At the same time they represent the prerequisite for the effective mastery of the scientific and technological revolution in the interest of all working people. Lenin considered the principle of democratic centralism, which combines central state planning and management and democratic self-responsibility of enterprise collectives and local organs of administration, to be the only social organization of the state and of economy corresponding to the aim of Socialist production as well as to the political conditions of the contest between Socialism and imperialism.

Lenin profoundly loved the people and was convinced of the creativity of the working people. He considered the qualification

and inclusion of all working people in the management of the economy and state the essence of Socialist democracy, the only form of genuinely consistent democracy. This teaching of Lenin, too, has been successfully implemented in the GDR. Already today every fourth GDR citizen eligible to vote, almost every second employed person takes part in guiding and governing the state in honorary (unpaid) functions. Never before in Germany has there been a state which could rely in such a comprehensive way on the democratic activity and co-responsibility of millions of citizens as practised here for many years and manifested in the principle contained in the Socialist Constitution, "participate in working, in planning, and in governing."

In the German Democratic Republic we are fulfilling the legacy of Vladimir Ilych Lenin by shaping Socialism as a developed social system and perfecting the Socialist order in its elements and as a whole. In the German Democratic Republic we are applying the generally valid lessons of Marxism-Leninism in accordance with the concrete conditions and are making thorough use of the experiences of the CPSU and the Soviet Union. In this way we are utilizing all the advantages and motive forces of Socialism, are solving the historical tasks of the GDR and making obvious to everybody the superiority of our Socialist social system over the West German state monopoly system of rule in all fields.

It is our highest aim to strengthen the German Democratic Republic, the Socialist state of German nation, in every way. In the twentieth year of the existence of our German Democratic Republic we are going about building our republic into a firm bastion of Socialism in the world-wide dispute with the imperialist system with enthusiasm and a creative spirit by means of peak performances in the decisive fields of science and technology and high performances in Socialist emulation. Socialism—Lenin taught us—is the work of all of us and requires the cooperation of every individual citizen!

The German Democratic Republic is inseparably linked with the country of Lenin, with the CPSU and the world's first Socialist state. It is a firm member of the Socialist community of states. Our party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, will do everything possible in the spirit of Lenin to strengthen the community of

**Socialist countries and consolidate the unity and integrity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The life and work of Lenin are forever a shining example for us in these aspirations!**

**Long live Leninism—the Marxism of our time!**

**Central Committee of the  
Socialist Unity Party of Germany**

**Berlin, 29 April 1969**



## **Point of View of the Tenth Session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on the Results of the March Session of the Committee to Prepare the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties**

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) considers the results of the March session of the preparatory commission as a positive step to the holding of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The Central Committee of the SED expresses its agreement that the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties opens on 5 June 1969 in Moscow.

The Central Committee of the SED has made a detailed examination of the draft of the main document submitted by the Preparatory Commission to the central committees of the Communist and workers' parties for consideration. The Socialist Unity Party highly esteems the fact that the draft of the main document has been worked out as a result of thorough collective and democratic discussion.

The Central Committee of the SED is of the opinion that the draft of the main document submitted by the Preparatory Commission corresponds to the agenda for the International Meeting unanimously adopted by the Budapest consultative meeting in 1968. The Central Committee of the SED considers the submitted draft as a suitable basis for the work of the International Meeting in June.

The tenth session of the Central Committee of the SED welcomes the unanimous decision of the March session of the Preparatory Commission to submit to the International Meeting the draft of a document to honour the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin. The Central Committee of the SED has also made itself acquainted with the other political and organizational problems which were

**subject of the activity of the Preparatory Commission, and approves the relevant decisions of the Commission.**

**The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will, as up to now, do everything in its power, both in the concluding preparatory work as well as especially at the International Meeting itself, to contribute actively to the further coherence and unity of action of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.**

**Central Committee of the  
Socialist Unity Party of Germany**

**Berlin, 29 April 1969**

# **From the Report of the Political Bureau to the Tenth Session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany**

Reporting: Comrade Erich Honecker,  
Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central  
Committee

## **The Great Initiative in Preparation of the 20th Anniversary of the GDR**

Comrades,

A great amount of trying work has been done in the period covered by the report to fulfil the resolutions of the 9th Central Committee session. The working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and all working people, led by our party, are now doing their utmost to make the year 1969 the year of a great initiative for the all-round strengthening of our socialist German Democratic Republic. The 20th anniversary of our workers' and peasants' state gives them occasion to come out with great performances in shaping the developed social system of Socialism. This fully comes up to the line given by the 7th Party Congress and testifies to the fact that we consistently put into practice the resolutions of the Central Committee.

We proceed from the fact that the consolidation of the Socialist family of states and the strengthening of every single Socialist country are the most important contributions for making Socialism the victor in the world-wide class struggle with imperialism. To strengthen Socialism does not just mean social security and growing prosperity for the working people, but simultaneously greater international authority and political attractiveness of the new social order. This new order represents a stable basis for peace, which is endangered by imperialism.

The pride in the successes, their own experiences, and the

certainty of a secure present and future—those are the sources for the creative power and the revolutionary deeds with which the working people are hastening social progress under Socialism.

20 years of existence of the German Democratic Republic  
— means having overcome forever the accursed imperialist past, the liquidation of exploitation and the policy of war, the liberation of our own people which is in conformity with historical necessity and the vital interests of all other peoples.

20 years of existence of the German Democratic Republic  
— means having established a new Socialist order of society in two successful revolutions, a modern industrial state with an efficient agriculture and a developed Socialist national culture—all created at great initial difficulties and under complicated conditions.

20 years of existence of the German Democratic Republic  
— means having implemented the leading role of the working class and its party which applies Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in our country, its policy of alliance embracing all social strata of our people.

20 years of existence of the German Democratic Republic  
— means struggle to master the scientific-technological revolution to the benefit of the working masses, utilization of all advantages of the Socialist order for a life in peace and happiness.

20 years of existence of the German Democratic Republic  
— means 20 years of systematical improvement of the material and cultural living conditions of the working people, freed from exploitation.

20 years of existence of the German Democratic Republic  
— means imperturbable fraternal alliance with the great Soviet Union and the family of all Socialist states, Socialist internationalism and true friendship with all peoples.

That is why we are fully justified to state in the theses on the 20th anniversary of our Republic: "We have opened the Socialist age of German history. Through our state and the achievements of its citizens, Socialism in Germany, too has shown that it has the strength to change people—that strength which has completely changed the world since the Great October Socialist Revolution and continues to change it. The German Democratic Republic

shows the entire German nation the road to a future of peace and Socialism."

The all-round strengthening of the German Democratic Republic necessitates to further increase the militancy of our party. Such is the spirit of the reports of activities and the elections of the leading party organs. It testifies to intra-party democracy and to the application of Lenin's principles of party life that the elections and the fixation of the tasks ahead have been prepared in extensive and productive discussions. The situation now is such that—in conformity with the resolutions of the 9th session of the Central Committee—the party branches pay their main attention to the application of qualitatively new standards in their political and ideological activities and the guidance of social processes. This is necessary and right in order to deepen the Socialist consciousness of the entire population and to get all working people to join the endeavours for peak performances in economy, science, technology, education, and culture.

All are needed in the creation of the developed Socialist society. Rallied round the working class and our party, the working people of all social strata have taken the good road towards the Socialist family of man in the German Democratic Republic. This was impressively demonstrated at the National Front Congress where the delegates from all social strata convincingly identified themselves with their state and outlined how they would contribute to the all-round strengthening of our republic—everyone in his sphere and at his place of work.

Our party members do effective enlightenment work within the National Front. With a high sense of responsibility they helped in the elections of the new committees with a total membership of 335,000 citizens. They include 90,000 workers, 95,000 employees, 45,000 cooperative farmers, over 45,000 intellectuals, about 1,000 artists and cultural workers as well as 15,000 owners of private firms using state investments, craftsmen, and tradesmen.

The National Front Congress has still more consolidated our policy of alliance which has proved its value in more than two decades. Members of all parties and mass organizations as well as millions of people not belonging to any party have learned to collaborate still closer and more trustingly.

This becomes not lastly evident by the fact that 42.7 per cent of the chairman and members of the National Front committees are citizens of no party affiliation.

Now, the National Front committees face the task to help mobilising the entire population for the preparations of the 20th anniversary of our Republic—especially within the framework of the competition for more beautiful towns and villages, for developing intellectual and cultural life, as well as physical culture and sports.

It is quite clear: it is the results effecting everyday life with which the working people judge the quality and the correctness of the course pursued by the party and the government. It is here in actual practice where the theory is being proved. Our policy over the past 20 years has clearly shown that it is not our way to make idle talk about Socialism, but to create facts, to timely recognize the problems ripe for solution, to penetrate them scientifically, to argue them thoroughly and to solve them resolutely through the organized force and discipline of the working class party and all its allies—to the benefit of the whole people.

We will not let ourselves be argued out of this principle also in the future, neither by such gentlemen as the "convergence"-theorists, nor by any dubious "reformers". Our road is that of Marxism-Leninism, the road of peace and social justice, the road of a present and future under socialism worthy of a human being.

### **Some Problems of the Drafting and Application of the Economic System of Socialism**

#### **The Significance of the Industrial Branch Conferences**

During the period covered by the report the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic held conferences in the crucial industrial and economic branches. They were of great importance for the fulfilment of the resolutions taken at the 7th party congress and the 9th Central Committee session on shaping the developed social system of Socialism, especially the economic

system. These conferences of the branches of industry were the occasion for the exact drafting of the higher standards set by the 9th Central Committee session and the Long-term Planning Commission of the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers in the new stage of our economic and science policies. This was necessary to accomplish achievements in the fields of structure-setting products and processes which co-determine peak standards. For this we have to create a modern Socialist organisation of economy which—as the conferences confirmed—is a profound process. These conferences convincingly substantiated the responsibility the working class and all working people bear for the all-round strengthening of the German Democratic Republic, especially for a rapid increase in the labour productivity and a highly effective national economy.

The conferences were decisively influenced by messages of greetings from the Central Committee, signed by Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council. They provided the industrial branches with clear targets for their long-term planning as part of the all-round drafting and implementation of the Socialist economic system. In this the complexity of the tasks, the interplay of all sides of social life—science, economy, Socialist democracy, education, culture, and sport—were taken as a basis. This interplay is aimed at fully developing the creative powers of the working people and an interesting intellectual and cultural life.

#### Which are the Qualitatively New Features?

- The complex automation of whole production processes in the factories enabling introduction of new technologies for large-scale production with the help of process computers.
- The productive utilisation of science—especially by developing large-scale research in structure-setting fields.
- The step-by-step establishment of efficient combines, especially in selected structure-setting fields in which the individual factories play a self-responsible role.
- Improvement of scientific guidance of planning, managing, and information through the use of electronic data processing, particularly in factories and combines.

The conferences assessed the results and experiences made so far in the realisation of the Socialist economic system. They discussed the greater efforts which have to be made to fulfil the tasks set for the period between 1971 and 1975 and deduced from this the next measures for the realisation of the economic system of Socialism as a whole—in industrial plants and combines, in building, transport, communications, and foreign trade.

The new standards set for the work of the industrial branches, on a basis of the Central Committee's messages, find particular expression in the following factors:

There was unanimity that the settling of the basic question, 'who—whom', in favour of peace and Socialism requires everywhere a higher tempo in the mastering of the scientific-technological revolution as well as peak achievements in all fields of our social life.

It is necessary to step up effectiveness and to raise the labour productivity above average—especially in those spheres which are important for the general development of the economy—for example in the field of electronics and electrical engineering, in chemistry and machine-building. It became apparent at the conferences of the industrial branches that the knowledge and abilities of the researchers, designers, construction engineers and technologists—limited to seeing problems from the angle of their enterprise—have to be widened. The system character, developed along with the Socialist economic system and the visualization of the national economic reproduction process were directed at the development and production of peak products standing international competition.

The conferences of the industrial branches stressed the leading role of the working class. They reflected how the social consciousness of all working people has increased in the process of carrying out the policy pursued by the party and government.

Pacemakers from factories and combines imparted valuable experiences. In the course of the critical, productive discussion, workers, engineers, economists, and experts made versed proposals for raising the labour productivity, lowering the prime costs and for achieving peak performances. What has to be stressed is the self-confident, responsible participation of women and young

people. With their constructive ideas and suggestions, they had a considerable share in the conferences being so successful.

At the conferences the statement made by Walter Ulbricht at the National Front Congress proved true: Our German Democratic Republic has proved in the past ten years that the working class, the scientists, engineers and the rest of the working people are able to create all the scientific and technological foundations which we need for our structural development.

Through the exchange of good experiences, the conferences of the industrial branches helped clarify how to realize the economic system of socialism in all large, medium-sized, and small enterprises as well as in factories of combines. It was characteristic that a number of managers were criticised because of their deficient work, especially in dealing with the people employed at their works. This criticism was made in order to improve expert management in all works, especially through the consistent application of the Marxist-Leninist science of organization and of electronic data processing.

This relates in particular to the creation of a modern industrial organization with the help of operational research. Operational research means application of scientific methods and procedures for investigating economic, technological and certain social processes, their organization and reactions, with the aim of reaching optimal solution. This also goes for the perfection of intra-factory cost accounting which makes it easier for the working people to participate in implementing the economic system of Socialism in the enterprises.

This provides for essential pre-conditions for the working people in the enterprises and in the factories of the combines being able to attain the highest possible growth in labour productivity.

It is increasingly being realized that it is necessary to apply in all enterprises the new methods of management in the new stage of the organization of science and economy as characterized by Comrade Walter Ulbricht at the 9th session of the Central Committee, in order to bring about a competitive atmosphere in the enterprises for the realisation of the party and government decisions and promote the development of the working people's political consciousness.

The associations of nationally-owned enterprises (VVB), playing a role of economic guidance in the industrial branches, have to intensify their help for the enterprises and combines so that the latter can better exercise their self-responsibility as Socialist commodity producers and thus fulfil their tasks within the central state plan.

It is especially important that the VVB impart the most progressive results in the solution of the scientific-technological and economic tasks to all enterprises and combines, that they popularize the best experiences and latest findings in the management and organization of the production process with the aim of attaining both scientific-technological and economic peak performances in the entire national economy.

### **The Leipzig Spring Fair 1969 and its Results**

This year's Leipzig Spring Fair was a further important political and economic event in the period under review. The Politburo paid special attention to this first great international event in the 20th year of the existence of the German Democratic Republic. The deliberations on basic questions of our policy in the fields of science and economy, carried out in preparation of the fair and during the visit paid there, promoted the solution of the tasks in external economic relations and roused new initiative aimed at implementing the economic system of Socialism.

The Leipzig Spring Fair demonstrated the efficiency of our Socialist society to all the world. The great number of GDR products of highest scientific-technological standard and produced at favourable costs and the highest volume of contracts ever concluded at the fair show that the measures of the economic system of Socialism prove good in practice. Thus, also this fair confirms the correctness of the decisions of the 7th Party Congress to attain the development of a highly effective structure of national economy by peak performances in the scientific-technological and the economic fields in order to thus create the foundations for the highest possible increase in social productivity of labour.

The visit of 20 foreign government delegations and the large

participation of foreign businessmen in the fair expressly underlined the role of the Leipzig Fair as the most important place of peaceful international trade.

Keen interest was aroused when far-reaching possibilities for closer cooperation of the socialist countries for jointly solving problems of the scientific-technological revolution were demonstrated at the fair with the programming and data transmission between Leipzig and Moscow. This data transmission for the automatic control of a digital centre, developed by the machine tool industry of the German Democratic Republic, is more than just a high technical performance. It is, as Walter Ulbricht stated, a feat of Socialist cooperation across frontiers and thus an event of paramount political importance.

Such accomplishments affirm the correctness of the path shown by the Party: Raising of the labour productivity through complex automation and electronic data processing. They demonstrated the complex application of the economic system of Socialism in the German Democratic Republic. In the shape of the exhibits jointly developed with the Soviet Union and other Socialist states, the fair proved that Socialism is able to solve all scientific-technological problems by its own efforts if the socialist countries combine their potentials in an efficient way and jointly concentrate them on attaining peak performances.

Products and solutions which—satisfying exacting demands—imply real creative scientific-technological achievements attracted the special attention of experts from home and abroad and proved to be economically most effective.

The results of the Leipzig Spring Fair 1969 are the fruits of the economic system of Socialism in the German Democratic Republic. They illustrate that the economic sub-systems have already been worked out, that they stand their test in practice, and that we have entered the phase of drafting and applying the economic system as a whole.

The qualitatively new features in the struggle of the working people for peak standards in science, technology and economy became especially evident at the fair from the following:

1) Essential peak performances are concentrated in the structure-setting branches of our national economy. They are thus already

the results of the structure policy decided at the 7th Party Congress. The working people of the electronics industry, the scientific instruments industry, and the processing machinery industry, for example, demonstrated important newly-developed projects which serve automation in the German Democratic Republic and represent true peak performances. The numerically controlled processing centres and standardized machine series, developed by the machine tool industry of the GDR, provide the possibility of multiplying labour productivity in the metal working industry through complex automation.

2) What is characteristic for many peak exhibits is the transition from single machines to the planning and realization of complex technological lines and system solutions. Such solutions, as drafted and started in the joint standardized system of the electronics and instruments industries, open up completely new sources for a considerable increase in the labour productivity in the enterprises which produce them, in those of the users, and in export.

3) The first results of the new organization of economy and science were demonstrated at the fair. A remarkable portion of peak performances came from Socialist enterprises linked together in the nationally-owned combines. Thus the great possibilities which such efficient production systems are able to realize by means of a concentrated employment of the scientific-technological potentials within the framework of Socialist large-scale research and for an economically highly-effective production became obvious.

### **On the Implementation of the Economic Plan in Industry, Building and Transport**

In the 20th year of the existence of our Socialist state the working people in industry, building and transport have accomplished great deeds. Thanks to progress attained in scientific management, and thanks to successful initiatives for staging emulations in many factories and integrated works favourable results have been achieved in fulfilling the plan during the first three months of 1969. Labour productivity in industry rose by 8.5 per cent as

compared to the same period of last year. On this account industrial commodity production rose by nine per cent. This means that production and the labour productivity increased substantially quicker than last year. During the first three months of 1969 nearly 24 per cent of the tasks envisaged by the 1969 annual plan for industry were fulfilled, and about 20 per cent envisaged for building production. This ensured better continuity in the transition to the new plan year, than in the past.

Performances of the working people during the first three months of this year have to be evaluated all the higher as they had to be accomplished under the conditions of a long winter. Struggling against snow, ice and months of frost, the working people have shown great initiative, a high working morale and discipline. They were exemplarily supported by units of the armed forces of the German Democratic Republic and of the Soviet Union. The gratitude and the recognition of the Central Committee are due to all working people in industry, building and transport, and in the other fields of national economy for their exemplary working morale, for their sacrificing work in fulfilling the plan tasks!

The majority of economically important factories and integrated works have fulfilled the plan targets of the first three months of 1969, and as envisaged by the plan, increased production by 17 per cent compared to the previous year. It is significant that the plan has above all been steadily fulfilled in the newly established integrated works of the centrally managed industry, as for example in the "Ernst Thälmann" works, Magdeburg, Rohrkombinat Riesa, VEB Qualitäts- und Edelstahlwerk Hennigsdorf and VEB Kabelkombinat KWO, Berlin. Above all in the production system of electronic data processing the planned substantial increase in production and efficiency has been achieved and even surpassed.

The positive development becomes evident also from the fact that the number of the VVBs (associations of nationally owned factories) which in 1968 were responsible for major disturbances in the economic reproduction process, has decreased. The following are the VVBs which in general ensured a continuous fulfilment of the plan during the first three months of 1969:

rail vehicles, diesel engines, pumps and compressors, graphic arts machine, data processing and office machinery, structural components and vacuum processing, and the electrical plant designing and construction.

Pioneering deeds have been accomplished by the workers foremen and engineers of the integrated light-weight metal construction works in the industrial complex of Cottbus which is a project determining the structure of our national economy. With the help of new designs of high scientific and technical standard, and highly productive technologies the workers at this building site assembled a 20,000 square metre large production hall during the winter months. The work teams managed to perform a daily production of 1,300 square metres of roofed area. This is a top performance internationally! Quotations submitted by prominent capitalist enterprises have shown that, in erecting these industrial halls our light-weight metal construction works is in a position of not only reaching their technico-economic parameters regarding the time and costs required for designing and building but even to keep below them.

### **On the Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry**

In implementing the decisions taken at the 7th Party Congress and the 10th German Farmers' Congress further progress has been achieved in Socialist agriculture and in the foodstuffs industry. The preparation and holding of the elections in the party branches of the agricultural production cooperatives, nationally-owned farms, processing factories and other institutions of agriculture and the food industry have helped to increase the militancy of the Party. An important lesson of the party elections is that the branches have to orientate socialist emulations on the consistent fulfilment of the plan, and that they always have to make the people conscious of the great significance of their personal contribution to the all-round strengthening of the German Democratic Republic.

The extraordinarily long winter has demanded great efforts also

from the cooperative farmers and agricultural workers. It is only thanks to the good working morale of tens of thousands of cooperative farmers and women farmers, agricultural workers, forestry workers and villagers both men and women, that under these difficult conditions, the agricultural products, above all milk and slaughter cattle, were made available to schedule for supply to the population. The Central Committee's gratitude and recognition are also their due.

The cooperative farmers, agricultural and forestry workers, and the working people in the foodstuffs industry have attained further successes in the Socialist emulation drive carried out in preparation of the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic.

Many agricultural production cooperatives and nationally-owned farms have followed the advice of the cooperative farmers of the cooperation community in Plate. Stimulated by their party branches they have developed new initiative for an all-round fulfillment of the plan for 1969. This made it possible to fulfill the agricultural plan targets within the national economic plan for milk and slaughter cattle during the first three months of 1969. As compared to the same period of the previous year the state output of slaughter cattle was increased by 4.9 per cent and of milk by 4.3 per cent. The fulfillment of the plans, however, differentiates between the agricultural production cooperatives, districts and counties, which has led to plan arrears in the output of slaughter cattle in the counties of Schwerin and Potsdam, and of milk in the counties of Rostock, Neubrandenburg, Potsdam and Frankfurt-on-Oder.

### **On the Continuation of the Third Reform in Higher Education**

At its meeting on 3 April the State Council passed a decision "On the Continuation of the Third Reform in Higher Education up to 1975". In his closing speech Comrade Walter Ulbricht emphasised that its new feature was to systematically connect the scientific work of the universities and colleges with the reproduction process in the associations of nationally-owned factories, in integrated works and plants, and to create efficient cooperatives aimed at

tackling the tasks determining the structure of our national economy. This cooperation includes joint prognostic work as well as the practical implementation of teaching and research in order to guarantee genuine pioneering achievements in science and technology. Simultaneously it is the basis for practising a modern, Socialist organization of science, for world standards in research, training, education as well as in advanced-training and education.

The main characteristics of the third reform in higher education are the unity of research-linked teaching, scientific-productive studies, modern training and education methods as well as concentration of the research potential in the interest of a further, more rapid development of the productive forces. With this reform we create all prerequisites for educating the students as efficient experts and Socialists with a firm Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

The decision of the State Council had been preceded by an extremely lively and creative discussion of the draft at universities, in industry, agriculture and in scientific institutions. Thousands of statements, declarations of consent and pledges expressed that the tasks set in the decision were being unanimously approved of, not only by those who are teaching and studying, but also by broad circles of the working people. Stress should be laid on the extraordinarily great interest and creative initiative displayed by the students and by the Socialist youth organization in the discussion and in realizing the tasks of the university reform.

In the discussion emphasis was laid on the important role of developing the Socialist organisation of science and the system of higher education in the class struggle with capitalism. The decisive task of the Socialist organization of science is to educate and qualify man, in particular the scientific cadres who have to accomplish the necessary pioneering deeds. In the struggle for maximum performances in research and teaching the development of Socialist personalities and teams, and the shaping of new Socialist relations of cooperation are, therefore, particularly important.

In the discussion of new ideological problems concerning the higher education reform it was said that this reform is of eminent importance for shaping the developed social system of Socialism. It is necessary, in order to meet the real requirements of our so-

ciety for a further rapid development of the material productive forces, in order to realize the economic system of Socialism and, on its basis, to master the scientific-technological revolution. It is necessary, in order to shape the Socialist community of man in which all working people have the possibility of developing themselves into universally educated Socialist personalities.

The discussion has made us understand more clearly that we have entered a new stage in the economy and science and in the development of higher education. With the systematic development of the Socialist organization of science and the third reform in higher education which we understand to be a process of fundamental changes in content, a new, higher stage of social cooperation develops, in particular between industry and agriculture on the one hand and the colleges and universities on the other which takes into consideration the requirements of the modern productive forces and of the all-round strengthening of our Socialist state.

The accelerated tempo of the training of scientific cadres at our universities and colleges takes into account the rapidly growing role of science and technology in the production and reproduction processes.

Through revolutionary transformations, the third reform in the higher education system is to adapt the higher education system as an organic part to the social reproduction process and thus to guarantee highest effectiveness in research and teaching. Simultaneously this creates all educational prerequisites for rapidly raising the percentage of working people with university, college and technical college training to the standards of developed industrial states. This growing educational standard of the working class will contribute to "the class and its party living up to their historical mission of conducting the process of shaping the developed social system of Socialism from the class standpoint, and of completing it", as Comrade Ulbricht said at the State Council meeting.

In the course of the higher education reform necessary organizational conditions have been created by setting up sections and new managing bodies in order to orientate the scientific potential on top performances, on firm cooperation with the Socialist industry

and agriculture, as well as on the scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union and other Socialist states.

Now it is above all necessary to fundamentally reorganize the education and training in content and method, on the basis of unity between teaching and research, and in line with latest findings and, with the implementation of the scientific-productive studies, to create all conditions for highest effectiveness in research, training and education.

A Great number of cooperation contracts have been signed between institutions of higher education and Socialist large-scale industry. In order to achieve pioneering deeds and peak performances, however, an even greater concentration of the scientific potential within the framework of large-scale Socialist research is necessary. This has been shown by such centres as in Jena and Dresden, but also in Magdeburg, Rostock, Halle and Berlin. The road towards solving this problem is the systematic inclusion of the scientific and technological potential of the universities and colleges into the large research projects of the integrated works and big plants via contractual research.

An example for arranging such cooperative relations has been set by the association of large-scale research and education "Wissenschaftlicher Gerätebau" (scientific instrument construction). In this large-scale research and education association, which is managed by the nationally owned works Carl Zeiss, Jena, cooperate above all, the Friedrich Schiller University as well as other colleges and institutes of the Academy of Science on the solution of structure-setting tasks in scientific instruments construction.

A contract on "Socialist cooperative work for the promotion of science, technology, education and culture" was concluded between the Carl Zeiss works, Jena and the Friedrich Schiller University, Jena. The Friedrich Schiller University concentrates its research as well as its training and advanced-training mostly on laying the scientific foundation in research and training for the branch of scientific instrument construction and solves this task together with the Carl Zeiss works.

Discussion on the State Council decision has confirmed that this process of revolutionary transformation requires the active

participation of all those who are studying and teaching, and the broad cooperation of the working people in industry, agriculture and all other social spheres. Full utilization of the advantages of our Socialist society, of our Socialist democracy will make it possible to most closely link the further development of the Socialist system of higher and specialized education with the development of Socialist scientific personalities, and with the application of the economic system and with scientific management. It has also been shown in the course of the reform that in the system of higher education, as in all spheres of science and technology, the decisive task is to educate the students and scientists to be prepared, on account of being conscious of their social responsibility, to accomplish great intellectual and creative deeds. It is, therefore, a particularly urgent task in our ideological work to close the ideological gap which found its expression in an insufficient orientation of many scientists on real pioneering deeds, in lacking audacity to advance into scientific virgin land.

Leaving the rear track and advancing to scientific and technological performances which lead to completely new products, technologies and machine systems with parameters in technology and costs that determine international standards, requires also a new quality in prognostic work. This prognostic work at universities and colleges has to be particularly promoted as a permanent, integrate part of the scientific and technological work within the framework of Socialist large-scale research.

We expect the comrades in the Ministry for Higher and Specialized Education to firmly guide, above all, this multi-facet process of the third reform in higher education in political and ideological respects, and in the field of organization of science. This requires consistent introduction of scientific management with the long-term plan as the main control instrument, and concentrated, operative work in realizing the State Council's decision, as well as generalization of these experiences, especially in exemplary institutions. In accordance with the requirements of the new stage reached in the fields of science and the economy, scientific work and the organization of science at the German Academy of Science are also undergoing a reform. Its essence is to lay the scientific groundwork and to accomplish pioneering deeds by a sys-

tematic concentration of the scientific potentials on the focal points of our social development—determined under prognostic aspects—and to particularly concentrate on the tasks determining the structure of our national economy.

The road towards this objective is the implementation of the demand raised at the 7th Party Congress that the Academy of Science among others, should introduce contractual research, resulting in research being financed by those who place the order, especially the factories and large plants. The introduction of this principle is to guarantee that the capacities of natural science research institutes are concentrated on those fields and tasks promising the largest number of useful results for the scientific groundwork of the structure-setting branches of the country's national economy.

Present experience and results have confirmed and underlined that the efficiency of the reform at the Academy of Science and the resulting introduction of contractual research are substantially influenced by how the managing personnel in the academy and in industry observe their responsibility, and how close Socialist co-operation develops on this basis. It is the task of the managing staff and of all scientists and staff-members of the German Academy of Science to utilize all opportunities of the close contacts with the economic and social practice, of creative cooperation between all branches of social science and natural science, and of an efficient organization of science, in order to make a decisive contribution towards universally strengthening our German Democratic Republic.

In connection with questions concerning the reform in higher education, the Political Bureau confirmed the tasks which the German Academy of Political Science and Law "Walter Ulbricht" has to fulfill in teaching and research and in the training of leading state functionaries.

The further all-round strengthening of the German Democratic Republic requires well-founded planning, management and organization of research in the fields of political science and jurisprudence. The German Academy of Political Science and Law "Walter Ulbricht", as the central institution bears full responsibility for this task.

In the fundamental questions of Socialist political science and jurisprudence it guides the respective sections at the universities and colleges in our Republic. At the same time it provides for international cooperation with the institutes of political science and Law and the academies of science in the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries.

In its decision the Political Bureau orientated on the most important research complexes for defining the role of the Socialist state and its law, and for developing Socialist democracy in the period of shaping the social system of Socialism. The chancellor of the German Academy of Political Science and Law is liable to account to the Secretariat of the Central Committee for drafting and fulfilling the long-term research plan.

The academy was obligated to arrange the training and advanced-training of leading state functionaries on the basis of the new constitution of the German Democratic Republic and the commentary on this constitution which has been published meanwhile. On the basis of the social prognosis worked out in cooperation with the Institute for Socialist Management of Economy, with the Institute for Social Sciences, with the "Karl Marx" Party College and other Institutions a complex knowledge has to be imparted to the leading officials of the Socialist state which will enable them to implement the Party's decisions in a high quality.

### **The 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Lenin**

Jointly with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with the international revolutionary workers' movement we are preparing for the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The creative, further development of Marxism, the emergence and development of the most experienced, most hardened section of the world Communist movement, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is connected with the life and work of V. I. Lenin. Historical experience—and last but not least twenty years of successful construction in the German Democratic Republic—has proved that only those parties struggle successfully for the liquidation of capitalism and for the triumph of Socialism which regard Marxism-

Leninism as an indestructable whole, and creatively apply the generally valid laws of the Socialist revolution and of Socialist construction to the specific conditions of their countries. The decision of the secretariat of 8 January 1969 contains the most important measures serving a worthy preparation of this historical event.

The preparation of the 100th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth once again gives us occasion to profoundly study and propagate his teachings. In party and mass propaganda, at party schools and other educational institutions of the Party etc. large propaganda meetings, courses, series of lectures, seminars, discussions and similar events will be arranged. A major concern of the party's instruction courses for 1969/70 will be to effectively support the ideological preparation of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin. Studies of Marxist-Leninist theory are to help the participants in the courses to understand the shaping of the developed social system of Socialism in the German Democratic Republic as a creative appliance of the fundamental teachings of Leninism, and to deal offensively and convincingly with the imperialist and revisionist attacks on the integrality of Marxism-Leninism.

Our special attention is devoted to the preparation of the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin among the young generation. Studies of Marxism-Leninism and the other measures ought to be linked with tried methods such as the drive of the Free German Youth and the Young Pioneers' organization "our love, our loyalty and strength for our Socialist country", with the exchange of delegations under the motto "on the traces of Lenin", with the student emulation at universities, colleges and technical training colleges.

The theoretical activity will be completed by central scientific conferences on subjects as, for example, "The Significance of Lenin's Teachings for the German Working Class", "Theory and Practice of Lenin's Economic Policy—its Application and creative Further Development in Shaping the Economic System of Socialism in the German Democratic Republic", "The lessons of V. I. Lenin's work, 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism', as well as of his works 'The State and Revolution', and 'Two Tactics' for the present struggle against the state monopolist ruling system

in West Germany". The philosophers' congress, the conference of the historians' commission of the Soviet Union and the GDR as well as the "Karl Marx Week" to be organized by the Party College will be dedicated to the work and legacy of Lenin.

### **The Foreign Policy of the GDR**

#### **The GDR in the Struggle for European Security**

Reviewing the past few months it can be said with full justification that our German Democratic Republic once again has proved to be an important contributing factor towards peace and European security. The truth has become more and more obvious that with every step towards further strengthening our Socialist state also its political radiation beyond the borders has grown. Everybody could note how much it is in the interest of all European peoples that a Socialist state exists and progresses on German soil which, closely allied with the Soviet Union, pursues an active policy towards peace and confronts the dangerous West German policy of revenge with an insurmountable barrier. Of particular historical significance in this connection is the treaty on friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation between the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union whose 5th anniversary we will mark on 12 June 1969.

Continuously implementing the decisions of the 7th Party Congress, the Political Bureau has lately steadily dealt with problems concerning the struggle for security in Europe and taken necessary measures in order to meet our great responsibility towards the people of our German Democratic Republic, towards the Communist and workers' movement and towards all peoples of our European continent.

Already today it can be noted that the significant appeal of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty to all European countries for convening an all-European conference on questions concerning security and cooperation has met with great response everywhere. The attractiveness of the proposal to hold a conference on European security is the result of its contemporary significance and of the fact that all states, without preconditions, have the pos-

sibility of participating. Nobody can deny that it is above all the Socialist countries in Europe which—in consideration of the realities and in accordance with the interests of the peoples—have submitted a program of peace, of bringing about an atmosphere of security, good neighbourhood and cooperation in Europe. It is those countries where the working class, where the people exercise power, where the armament capital and thus the roots of the expansionist policy have been liquidated. They have called upon the peoples to decrease tensions in Europe, to resolutely remove their causes, i.e. to counteract those aggressive forces which want to revise the outcome of the Second World War and the map of Europe in favour of imperialism. It has been again demonstrated to the peoples of the world that peace has a solid basis in the Soviet Union, in the Socialist countries.

Naturally it is impossible to safeguard European peace without protecting it against its imperialist enemies. Therefore at their conference in Budapest, the member states of the Warsaw Treaty decided also on measures aimed at further perfecting the integrated armed forces, at strengthening the defences of every member state and of the entire Socialist community. As is known, the communiqué stated that the participating states unanimously confirmed the principles for the Defence Ministers' Committee of the member states of Warsaw Treaty, the principles on the integrated forces and the integrated command, and other documents designed to further perfect the structure and leading bodies of the Warsaw Treaty defence organization.

The period behind us made it quite evident where the enemies of European security are to be found. There cannot be any doubt as to the fact that European security is only possible on the basis of recognizing all European frontiers. The Bonn government however, says no. European security is unthinkable without full international recognition of the German Democratic Republic. But the Bonn government says no. European security conditions that the aggressive sole representation pretension of the ruling circles in West Germany is dropped once and for all and totally. The Bonn government however, wants to uphold the dogma of the Hallstein Doctrine. Peace and security in Europe make it inevitable to sign the nuclear weapons non-proliferation treaty. In spite of the West

German Social Democratic foreign ministers juggling, Bonn insists on its no, also regarding this vital question. It is understood by everybody who takes European security serious that it is necessary to recognize the Oder-Neisse frontier and to declare the Munich agreement as having been invalid right from the beginning. But also in this question the Bonn Government is opposed to reason. Those who honestly desire European security have to resolutely oppose Bonn's provocative policy regarding West Berlin. West Berlin is an independent political entity, and neither belongs nor ever will belong to the West German Federal Republic. Bonn, however, says no also in regard to this fact established by international law.

A drastic example of Bonn's policy of provocation was the misuse of West Berlin as the venue of the election of the West German Federal President on 5 March 1969. It took place in violation of international law. Bonn ignored all warnings, and voices of reason met with deaf ears in Bonn. The imperialists would stake everything for their revanchist provocation which was to open a new phase in the cold annexation of West Berlin.

But this intended demonstration of strength against the Socialist countries became a boomerang. It increased the international isolation of the Bonn regime. No other move by the West German government engendered so strong a condemnation and so much criticism even from its western allies as the provocation on 5 March in West Berlin. Even the French and Netherlands governments did not conceal their disapproval. Certain NATO governments apparently are not exactly unhappy to see their West German rivals for supremacy manoeuvring themselves into international isolation. Statements of sympathy on paper cannot veil this fact.

For the first time considerable sections of the West German people and also part of the West Berliners resisted the dangerous policies of the West German rulers regarding West Berlin.

The governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union adopted a firm and sober attitude against the policy of adventure and conflict demonstrated to the world by the Kiesinger-Strauss-Brandt government. The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic adopted requisite security and con-

trol measures. Simultaneously, they combined their efforts to promote peace and security in Europe and relax the situation. Visible to everybody, this provocation, too, brought an adverse result for Bonn. The bare facts have exposed Bonn as the chief troublemaker in Europe. It is the ruling sections of the West German Federal Republic which are obstructing European security by making revanchist claims and are doing their utmost to bar the holding of a European security conference with the participation of all European states on a basis of equality.

Nothing, not even Bonn's hypocritical protestations that it in fact favoured the idea of a security conference if certain conditions are fulfilled, can alter this fact. These conditions include the interpretation of the UN statute for the purposes of West German militarism, and the acceptance of the revanchist pretension to "speak for all Germans" which violates international law. The propaganda of Kiesinger, Barzel, and also Brandt and Wehner is designed to throw dust in the eyes of the European peoples and in particular hoodwink the people in the West German Federal Republic. The Bonn policy-makers obviously feel that they are caught in a blind alley. This explains their abortive attempt to decry the most elementary requisites of European security as "unreasonable preconditions". Using a method of quite ordinary blackmailers they seek to extort a price for respecting the indispensable observance of the norms of coexistence of the European peoples. For what else but the morality of thieves is revealed if one demands a price" for respecting the European borders, for recognizing realities, and, above all, for recognizing the German Democratic Republic in international law, as well as for peaceable behaviour and genuine relaxation? But this speculation like many others made in the past by Bonn will not work out. The recognition of the German Democratic Republic in international law is by no means an object of barter but the condition without which bilateral talks on the basis of equality are rendered impossible. The Socialist countries which are interested in peace in Europe will never accept, let alone reward, the revanchist demands raised by Bonn or legalize them. What should be dropped is precisely the making of conditions which imperil European peace and which are irreconcilable with the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Here, before the Central Committee we state that up to this hour there has been no official statement from Bonn in which the government, the West German parliament or even the so-called Coalition Committee of the ruling parties in Bonn clearly and realistically explain their position on the Budapest Appeal.

Yet everything could be so simple. The Council of State of our Republic, as is known, recently appealed to Bonn to declare itself in favour of the convening of an all-European security conference and show itself ready to share actively in its preparation. There cannot be any argument that it, right from the beginning, must be based on the equal rights of all European states. It is needless to repeat here that such steps towards European security could likewise very well help the two German states to reach agreements in the interest of peace and security. Instead, Bonn has launched a campaign against all sections in West Germany and Western Europe who are raising their voices ever louder to demand steps in the interest of European security and precisely therefore speak in favour of the recognition of the German Democratic Republic in international law. Not a day passes that top leaders of the Bonn parties do not make attacks on the proposed European security conference by renewing and sharpening their revanchist pre-conditions. People who counsel the recognition of the German Democratic Republic are insulted, defamed or even accused of "high treason". At the same time—as was done during the shocking provocation against our Olympic champions in Mainz—the state emblem of the German Democratic Republic is desecrated on instructions of government authorities in West Germany. This makes evident what one should think of all the talk of Bonn political leaders on their "readiness for relaxation" and of a so-called regulated co-existence. More clearly than ever it appears now that West German militarism, neo-nazism and revanchism are the main obstacle to the easing of tensions in Europe.

This much is certain: The recognition of the German Democratic Republic in international law can no longer be kept off the agenda of European politics. The German Democratic Republic is growing and developing in harmony with the course of history, its policies coincide with the vital interests of the peoples.

Now, a paper which can be safely called a mouthpiece of Bonn

official policies recently wrote that the international recognition of the German Democratic Republic was to be considered an item on the "debit side of the Federal Republic". This is a characteristic statement which may need some words of comment.

International law has always been on the debit side of the German imperialists. They have constantly disregarded it, trampling it underfoot and unscrupulously breaking it whenever their profit and power interests were concerned. They did so in 1914 when they assaulted their neighbours. They did so in 1939 when they launched the Second World War to establish their "new order in Europe". And they did the same in the period after 1945, when, with backing from the American occupation power, they flouted the Potsdam Agreement point by point, when they split Germany in order to restore the imperialist power and assumed the role of NATO spearhead against the Socialist community. The megalomaniacal Bonn sole representation pretension against the German Democratic Republic is but another link in the successive violations of international law on the part of German imperialism.

It is shameful that the bosses of West German high finance and their CDU/CSU today can rely on the direct cooperation of Social Democratic leaders as ministers in the Bonn government. Contrary to the professed will of a growing number of SPD rank-and-file, functionaries and even entire district and provincial branches, Brandt, Wehner, Schiller and Schmidt have stood by Bonn's revanchist policies. We note that the Social Democratic foreign minister in Bonn has again been sending emissaries to all corners of the globe in recent weeks to dissuade governments from recognizing the German Democratic Republic. In an arrogant manner he personally interferes in the politics of other Social Democratic parties that have turned to a realistic attitude towards the GDR. Are the people in Bonn unaware that their hopeless anti-GDR complex makes them only lose more and more political ground? It is an open secret today that more West European political leaders and parties favour the recognition of the GDR than is by now officially known. After all, the peoples of Europe have every reason not to be interested in the hegemony of West Germany where the aggressive forces of the past rule again. This interest which we quite understand, naturally and inevitably requires a realistic

attitude towards the two German states and consequently the establishment of internationally valid relations by all European states with the German Democratic Republic. When West Germany claims to be a subject of international law the same is valid for the German Democratic Republic.

With an unprecedented impressiveness the demand for recognizing the GDR as a state with equal rights in international law has been raised these days in the parliaments of Western and Northern European countries, at congresses and in the mass media, by parties and organizations of varying political orientations. The resolution of the Twelfth Congress of the Netherlands Labour Party was an especially noteworthy example of this. Further proof of it is the foundation of the "Permanent International Committee for the Recognition of the German Democratic Republic" in February this year which includes noted figures of the European capitalist countries, and the founding of more national friendship associations with the German Democratic Republic.

In West Germany the subject of the recognition of the German Democratic Republic is heard on all sides. Who would dispute today that this is a fruit of the successful development of our German Democratic Republic and its growing international authority? Thus concerning the word "debit" coined in Bonn we may say that for the peoples of Europe the German Democratic Republic has long been on the credit side of the European balance sheet.

Apparently, fear and panic have spread in Bonn in view of this truth. Fear that the establishment of normal relations by West European and other countries with the German Democratic Republic will lead more and more people to learn about the great accomplishments of Socialism on German soil. The West German government is afraid that in other capitalist countries and in the developing countries there could be representatives of the German state of the big trusts and of Socialist Germany with the same rights, which would cause the ultimate collapse of the Hallstein doctrine. This fear is caused by a bad conscience, for the West German rulers distinctly notice that ever more people are becoming aware of their hostility to peace and that the Federal Republic is becoming further isolated.

The ever sharper rightist development in West Germany is

signalized by the recent official refusal of the Bonn government coalition to ban the neo-nazi NPD party. Every reasonable and peace-loving person in the world has been shocked at this decision and has realized anew what the regime in West Germany is like. Because the Potsdam Agreement was never fulfilled in West Germany, because the historically necessary social changes were not made and instead the old power of finance capital was restored and expanded year after year, neo-nazism is thriving now in the Federal Republic. Mounting evidence reveals that quite in the same spirit the Bundeswehr has increasingly played a central role in the renazification of West Germany. Finally, just these days a reactionary financial reform was whipped through the West German Bundestag which gears public finances still more rigorously to the expansionist foreign policy as well as to the armament industry and armament research.

In foreign policy this rightist course was once more graphically illustrated during a parliamentary debate on so-called German policy. On behalf of the Bonn coalition government Chancellor Kiesinger made fierce attacks on "the realities created after the Second World War", to quote his words, and on the status quo in Europe. His speech was characterized by hatred and animosity towards the German Democratic Republic. He renewed the refusal to recognize the German Democratic Republic as an independent state and subject of international law as a dogma of West German policies. In this Herr Kiesinger is in absolute agreement with Herr Wehner. And in considering the demand of broad sections in West Germany for recognition of the German Democratic Republic to be "a sin against history", he is surely thinking only of his own history as a collaborator of Ribbentrop and Goebbels. The entire history of German militarism and imperialism is not only "sinful" but also criminal. This debate in the Bundestag at the same time reflected the Bonn rulers' fear of the growing strength of all forces of reason and realism in West Germany which favour the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the relinquishment of the sole representation pretension and West German contributions to European security.

## **On the SPD Party Congress**

As you know recently the West German Social Democrats held an extraordinary party congress. Its course and results must have greatly disappointed all those West Germans who had hoped it would suggest an alternative to the CDU/CSU policy. This is in fact expressed in statements by West Germans who are now saying that this SPD Congress was a stepback even to the inglorious party congress in Godesberg in 1959.

Instead of fighting the state monopoly system of exploitation, social insecurity and the aggressive revanchist policy, the Social Democratic ministers enforced their continued pursuit of CDU/CSU domestic and foreign policies in all essential points. Take Bonn Economics Minister Schiller. In the sphere of economic policy his appearance at the Congress was nothing but the advocacy of a conception benefiting West German big capital. All those frothily announced "reform plans" for the 1970's serve to consolidate the state monopoly system and completely subject the working people of West Germany to this system.

This is another proof of the SPD ministers' complete integration in the capitalist profit economy and imperialist policy of expansion. This was attested to them also by the mouth-piece of West German big business Volkswirt which said on 18 April 1969 that the SPD apparently "has no intention of giving up its party policy goal of becoming 'presentable at court'". The paper continues: "After two-and-a-half years of coalition with the Christian Democrats which helped it to share in governing", the SPD was not allowed "to massively direct its election campaign against the CDU/CSU".

Instead of unambiguously supporting the idea of a European security conference, the Social Democratic ministers made the Party Congress a platform for renewing their oath of allegiance to the aggressive NATO. Instead of clearly calling for recognition of the German Democratic Republic in international law as has been demanded by many Social Democratic organizations, the Social Democratic ministers, by defeating the motion of a group to this effect, sanctioned anew the aggressive sole representation claim against the German Democratic Republic and the Hallstein doctrine. "The opening of the West German Social Democrats

towards the right carried forward by party strategist Wehner with a view to the bourgeois middle-classes" brought the party onto a seesaw course, the afore mentioned West German business organ said. It quoted two examples of this. "The social democrats 'offer the German Democratic Republic negotiations at government level without any discrimination'—and refuse to recognize the German Democratic Republic. The government program stands firm on the strengthening of NATO"—and at the same time there is talk of reducing the number of troops in Western and Eastern Europe. But how can Social Democratic ministers talk of negotiating with the German Democratic Republic without recognizing the German Democratic Republic! In maintaining the claim to speak for the entire German people they show that they still oppose negotiations on a basis of equality. The ministry of Herr Brandt makes a special effort to discriminate and injure the German Democratic Republic and its citizens internationally in every way. Herr Brandt even opposed the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic to the United Nations. In was in any case characteristic of that Party Congress that the Social Democratic ministers suppressed every progressive proposal. Delegates who had come to the congress to put forward the motions of many party organizations and even entire provincial branches were forced into submission through manipulation, the pressure and demagogy of the Social Democratic ministers.

As I said, at the Party Congress of the West German Social Democrats there was by no means a lack of a good dose of election demagogy regarding both domestic and foreign policy issues. For tactical reasons, there were some pseudo-skirmishes between Social Democratic ministers and representatives of the CDU and CSU. In face of the forthcoming parliamentary elections and the criticism voiced in the party, who in fact is surprised by them? But what counts is not the propagandistic foam but the substance of the political resolutions. One cannot help agreeing with the commentaries of big bourgeois papers which triumphantly assured their readers right after the first day of deliberations at the Congress that "the powder at the SPD Congress is already wet". One day later they stated that Brandt's election program could be signed by Herr Kiesinger, chairman of the CDU, without hesitation and after the

conclusion of the Congress they frankly declared that the SPD had recommended itself "as a better CDU".

The fact that, despite the direction by Brandt, Wehner, Schmidt and their like the recognition of the GDR became one of the main issues at the Congress testifies to the growing rejection of the revanchist sole representation pretension among the Social Democratic members and in a number of SPD branches. Thus the Party Congress mirrored the sharpening of the basic contradiction between the reactionary expansionist course of West German imperialism and revanchism and the peaceful and democratic interests of the West German working people whom we never equate with the revanchist forces. But the rightwing forces starting from the CDU/CSU up to the NPD, unfortunately, are in a process of formation now which is faster than that of the democratic and peace-loving forces who seek a genuine alternative to CDU/CSU policies.

What is needed is the unification of the West German working class against the omnipotence of the monopolies, against the armament policy and for general democratization. The movement in the West German working class, among youth and the intelligentsia for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic in accord with international law expresses the growing realization that the progress of the German Democratic Republic is also beneficial to the interests of the West German working people. The more the West German working people see for themselves the achievements of the German Democratic Republic, the more grows their strength to unfold a creative initiative against the formed rule of the monopolies, revanchists and militarists in West Germany.

We should like in this connection, to state before the Central Committee that the theses on the 20th anniversary of our German Democratic Republic have found a remarkably wide response, especially also in West Germany. Naturally, there is good reason for this. For these theses reflect the advance of Socialism and the increasing superiority of the Socialist system on German soil. Nobody in West Germany will be able in the long run to escape this fact, whether he likes it or not.

The theses manifest the legitimacy of the German Democratic Republic as the Socialist state of German nation which symbolizes and carries on all revolutionary and humanistic traditions of the

German people. This complicates the position of the reactionaries of all shades who today symbolize and continue the accursed trends in Germany's past. Our theses point a realistic way to the future, a future of social security and true humanity. This naturally has caused alarm among the West German imperialists, in a situation when an increasing number of West Germans, mainly young people, accuses them and attacks them just for the lack of perspective of the late capitalist system.

It is not saying too much therefore when we state that Socialism is on the advance and that the monopoly capitalist system pursues its aggressive policy from a position of defence. This fully corresponds with the character of our era and the well-known Marxist analysis that imperialism has become more aggressive but not stronger.

In view of this fact West German imperialism is trying to implement its strategy of changing the constellation of forces in its favour by economic, military and increasingly also ideological means. As hopeless as the imperialist plans are the anti-peace and counter-revolutionary nature of the official West German policy should not be overlooked. What Strauss calls the "re-organization of Europe", Schröder supplemented by saying that for Bonn it was a question of a "non-Socialist Germany". It was also this very representative of the die-hard conservative circles of the West German bourgeoisie who arrogantly said that the Federal Republic was the "model for the whole of Germany". Apart from all nationalist demagoguery concerning re-unification which is being fanned in particular in connection with providing a chauvinist atmosphere for the forthcoming general elections, these utterances of politicians of West German monopoly capital evidence that on German soil it is indeed a question of class struggle between Socialism and imperialism.

What kind of a model is the one recommended? It is a system in which the social roots of the policy of aggression, of militarism and of neo-nazism have been regenerated. It is a system which is based on the exploitation of man by man, in which capitalist profits determine all developments and which is torn by deep and unsolvable contradictions.

Particularly in the past few months these contradictions again have intensified:

- the contradiction between the desire of the West Germans and in particular of the workers and office workers for social and political security on the one hand, and the insecurity which is growing despite economic boom and which is inherent in the system on the other hand ;
- the contradiction between the accelerated concentration of capital through the formation of mammoth trusts and the disfranchisement of the working class which is to be intensified through the planned alignment of the trade unions with the state monopoly system, the implementation of which—as Herr Strauss publicly admitted—was the main reason for Social Democratic leaders being made ministers in the coalition government with the CDU/CSU ;
- the contradiction between the present and the future interests of youth in good education, thorough vocational training, in justice and social progress, and the inability of the system to meet these desires and demands of youth ;
- the contradiction between the desire of the West German population for peace and genuine detente, and the intensified expansionist policy of the Bonn government which continues to produce fresh tensions and increases the danger of war through provocations.

Herr Schröder, Herr Strauss and their like have nothing new to offer. What they have to offer is nothing but the old system of capitalism which is condemned by history to decay, and which neither garnishment nor new wrappings can make more attractive. And this much can be said today already: Changes in the decorations and in the cast of Bonn's political stage do not change the situation. Whatever kind of coalition may come about there—it will not succeed without a fundamental change in its political course.

The German working class and the entire German nation have drawn a lesson from history which must never be forgotten: It is the knowledge that there are no common interests whatsoever between the people and the targets of German imperialism. Whatever camouflage imperialism may resort to—it has not and cannot change its nature for imperialism means: maximum profits at the expense of the working people, reaction at home and an expan-

sionist foreign policy. The work of our party has always proceeded from this knowledge and will also in future not tolerate that to the detriment of the nations, illusions about German imperialism are being nourished, nor illusions about those who—irrespective of which party document they have in their pockets—are transacting its business.

Therefore we feel all the more closely linked with those forces in West Germany who are searching for new ways and striving for changes which are to result in democratic progress. We state quite frankly that we feel special sympathy for those who let themselves be guided by the true fact that social progress can only be attained in West Germany if one is a friend of the German Democratic Republic. This applies particularly to the West German working class and to the bravely struggling younger generation. As Comrade Walter Ulbricht said at the National Front Congress we have no illusions whatsoever concerning the seriousness of the struggle against West German imperialism. But provided with the experience of our own struggle and in view of the development of man in our Republic, we express our hope and our conviction that the number of those forces in West Germany, who are opposing the disastrous course of Bonn's imperialist policy, will continue to grow.

As one of the signatory states of the Budapest Appeal we declare our firm determination to contribute with all means at our disposal to the holding and to the success of a conference for European security. Participating on an equal footing in such a conference of all European states, the German Democratic Republic will constantly make its constructive contribution towards lasting peace on our continent. We are certain that through further successes in the all-round consolidation of the German Democratic Republic the citizens of our state are going to do their best to enable us to reach the noble aim of European security.

### **The Further Development of Cooperation in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance**

The Political Bureau has frequently dealt with problems concerning the further development of cooperation in the Council for Mutual

Economic Assistance (CMEA). Proceeding from the memorandum of the Political Bureau and of the Council of Ministers on the development of the Socialist economic community of the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and materials in hands of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as taking into consideration relevant materials of other fraternal parties, our viewpoint concerning the aims, ways and methods of the work of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in the next stage was elaborated. In the meantime, the Extraordinary 23rd Meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has taken place in Moscow from 23 to 26 April which was attended by a party and government delegation of the German Democratic Republic headed by Walter Ulbricht. The meeting wound up work on Saturday, 26 April 1969 after passing a communiqué and a resolution. The decisions were passed unanimously.

The outcome of the deliberations are most important. The comprehensive measures resolved introduce a new stage in the co-operation between the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This is naturally not only of great economic but also of great political importance. The implementation of the conference's decisions will have a positive influence on further changes in the constellation of forces in the world in favour of peace and Socialism.

At this important extraordinary conference tribute was paid to the work of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance carried out up till now. Attention was drawn to the fact that under the leadership of the Communist and workers' parties the working people of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance have succeeded in bringing about fundamental social, economic and political changes, a steady upswing in production, in guaranteeing the flourishing of science and culture and in considerably raising national living standards. The Socialist economic system in the CMEA countries has been developing on a modern material and technological basis and it is firmly asserting itself.

The communiqué on the extraordinary 23rd CMEA meetings points out that the experience of history fully confirms the strength of the Marxist-Leninist principles. Through the joint creative work of the Communist and workers' parties, through joint discussion of

questions pertaining to their fraternal cooperation the Communist and workers' parties have elaborated and implemented the basic principles of international Socialist division of labour. The participants of the conference specially emphasized the political importance of the all-round development of economic cooperation between the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It was stated that the community of Socialist states, welded together by their basic mutual class interests and aims and guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, should rely on a system of unwavering and lasting international Socialist division of labour.

The communiqué on the 23rd meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance says: "In the present stage when the CMEA member states have achieved considerable successes in developing the productive forces and are advancing to more perfect methods of Socialist economic management, when they have started on making more comprehensive use of the accomplishments of the scientific and technological revolution, on increasing to a maximum the effectiveness of social production so as on this basis to raise the prosperity of their people, the necessity arises to perfect existing and to develop additional and more effective forms and methods of economic cooperation."

At a reception given by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government for the delegations of the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance at the Kremlin, First Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party and chairman of the State Council, Comrade Walter Ulbricht, stated on behalf of all delegations present at this occasion: "Together we have done good and important work. This conference has opened a new chapter in the development of our economic cooperation."

Referring to the teachings of Lenin, Comrade Walter Ulbricht pointed out that the level and tempo of development of labour productivity is decisive in the economic contest between Socialism and the capitalist system. The jointly elaborated resolution of this conference outlines in which way the struggle for highest labour productivity and highest world standards in science and technology should be waged. This will be to the benefit of our people, will con-

solidate Socialist society and raise the living standards of our peoples.

The participants in the meeting resolved to begin with the elaboration of the main principles for the further development of the economic, scientific and technological cooperation of the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance as well as of concrete measures for their long-term implementation. In this connection special attention will be attached to the perfection and expansion of the forms and methods of the national economic plans, including research and development work, production, marketing and investments as well as to scientific, technological and economic prognoses.

The establishment of an investment bank of the CMEA countries was agreed upon. Much attention was devoted to the planned development of economy, to the expansion of mutual trade, to the better utilization of the currency and finance system. In addition agreement was reached on the elaboration of proposals for the further improvement of the work of the organs of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance so as to enable them to play a more active part in organizing cooperation.

It was also pointed out that the contractual bases and in particular the long-term economic relations between the CMEA countries should be consolidated.

The Socialist integration is going to accelerate the tempo of development in the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Participants in the meeting manifested their unanimous conviction that the further expansion and consolidation of economic cooperation between our countries is in full accord with the vital interests of the nations building up Socialism and Communism. The communiqué therefore emphasizes that the leading role of the Communist and workers' parties, the further consolidation of the Socialist states, the strengthening of the bases for planning the national economy and the political unity of the Socialist countries are the guarantee for the development outlined above.

At the reception the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, was able to emphasize the great success of this important conference and state that the decisions of the conference introduce a

new stage in the consolidation of the unity and the extension of cooperation between the states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The Political Bureau proposes to the 10th session of the Central Committee to convey to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics their cordial thanks for the thorough preparation of this conference and for the hospitality extended. We should also like to express our gratitude for the opportunity afforded us to visit an exhibition on electronics demonstrating highest scientific and technological standards.

The Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers are going to lay down relevant measures for the purpose of implementing the resolutions passed at this conference.

### **Our Republic—Partner of the Peace-loving Peoples**

Aware of the fact that the further consolidation of the unity of the Socialist states and their close links with the Soviet Union are the main condition for securing peace in Europe, the party and state leaderships, as always, considered it their most important foreign policy task in the period under review, to strengthen the fraternal bonds and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other states of the Socialist community.

In the period under review numerous meetings took place between representatives of the German Democratic Republic and other Socialist states in the course of which concrete measures were agreed upon relating to the extension of cooperation in various fields and to their joint standpoint in the international arena.

In the past few months further progress was achieved in developing the friendly relations of the German Democratic Republic with the Afro-Asian countries and in particular with some Arab states. The journey to the United Arab Republic and to the Syrian Arab Republic of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Comrade Otto Winzer, from 23 January to 13 February 1969, as well as the Iraqi Foreign Minister's visit to Berlin from 25 to 31 March 1969, clearly manifested the steadily

consolidating relations of the German Democratic Republic with the progressive Arab states.

The talks with leading politicians of those countries and in particular with President Nasser and President Atassi and the Iraqi Foreign Minister Sheikhly have evidenced that the foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic which is directed at maintaining peace and guaranteeing security is increasingly being appreciated in the African and Asian countries. The mutuality of the anti-imperialist struggle and of constructing a new social order more and more clearly determine the relations of the German Democratic Republic with the United Arab Republic, with the Syrian Arab Republic and with the Republic of Iraq. High-level consultations on international problems of mutual interest and on the further consolidation of relations have turned out to be a regular practice.

The talks provided the opportunity of acquainting the Arab partners with the most important problems discussed at the 9th session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany as well as of discussing questions pertaining to European security and to removing the aftermath of Israel's imperialist aggression. The Arab partners expressed their great respect for the successes the German Democratic Republic has achieved in shaping the developed social system of Socialism, for the consistent anti-imperialist struggle of the German Democratic Republic and for the active support it extends to the Arab peoples in their struggle against the Israeli aggressors and their imperialist masterbrains.

The Bonn government's aggressive expansionist policy vis-a-vis the European Socialist countries and the Middle East states meets with increasing opposition and condemnation. The Arab peoples are alarmed by the efforts on the part of the ruling circles of the West German Federal Republic to extend their positions of power in the Middle East. In their struggle to defend their independence against the new phase of the neo-colonialist expansion of West German monopoly capital which Herr Strauss, in line with the conception of the big banker Herr Abs, is trying to introduce in Latin America, Africa and Asia by setting up international firms dominated by West Germany, the independent states will to an increas-

ing degree recognize the German Democratic Republic as their natural ally.

The friendly relations with the progressive Arab states and with other African and Asian countries are being constantly developed. In this connection the conversion of the Cairo and Berlin representations into missions under an agreement between the Foreign Ministers of the German Democratic Republic and of the United Arab Republic is a step on the road towards the complete normalization of relations. It shows that the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technological relations between the German Democratic Republic and the United Arab Republic have reached a high standard and open up new opportunities for further and comprehensively developing them. As could be noted from the communiqué, measures for the further development of relations were also agreed upon with the Syrian Arab Republic and the Republic of Iraq.

A delegation from the German Democratic Republic headed by the member of the Political Bureau, Comrade Herbert Warnke, attended the 2nd International Conference for the Support of the Arab Peoples in Cairo from 25 to 28 January 1969. This conference, the political composition of which was very representative—delegates from 74 countries and of 15 international organizations were represented—was an important step towards the unity of the anti-imperialist forces in the Middle East. The conference strongly condemned Israel's imperialist aggression and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli troops of aggression from the occupied Arab territories. In the documents adopted by the conference the West German Federal Republic is denounced, besides the USA, as protector of the Israeli aggressors. In contrast to this the consistent anti-imperialist attitude of the German Democratic Republic in connection with the struggle of the Arab people was mentioned with great respect.

During a meeting between Comrade Warnke and the President of the United Arab Republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser, the latter paid special tribute to the solidarity the government and the people of the German Democratic Republic are extending to the struggle of the Arab peoples.

A first conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organi-

zation and the World Council of Peace in support of the struggle of the peoples in southern Africa was held in Khartoum from 17 to 20 January 1969. A delegation of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the Peace Council of the German Democratic Republic took part in this conference. The conference expressed the growing solidarity of the Socialist countries and of the progressive forces in the newly independent countries and in the capitalist countries with the struggle of the people in southern Africa against imperialism, colonialism, racism and neo-colonialism. The conference uncompromisingly condemned the accomplices of the racist and colonialist regimes and in particular West German imperialism.

In the period under review the German Democratic Republic has repeatedly emphasized its claim to membership of and cooperation on an equal footing in the United Nations and its agencies. In a statement handed to the 24th plenary meeting of the UN Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) being held currently in Geneva, it has in particular pointed out that the Commission would not be able to seriously solve the tasks it is charged with, that is of organizing economic, commercial and technico-economic cooperation in Europe, if not all European states, without exception, can take part in it as members with equal rights. In a letter to UN Secretary-General U Thant the government of the German Democratic Republic has expressed its readiness to join the convention on the non-limitation of war crimes and crimes against humanity as adopted by the UN General Assembly whereas the Bonn government, which protects the war and nazi criminals, has expressly refused to accede to the convention.

The German Democratic Republic attaches great importance to the work of the Geneva 18-nation Disarmament Committee. By manifold initiatives it has taken part in the elaboration and the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which has not yet been signed by the Bonn government. The government of the German Democratic Republic has voiced its preparedness in a letter to the co-presidents of the 18-nation Disarmament Committee to directly participate in the committee's work.

## **The International Relations of the SED Preparations for the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties**

Based on the resolutions of the Seventh Party Congress, our party has consistently continued its policy for the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement on the fundamental basis of Marxism-Leninism. In the period under review delegations of the Central Committee participated in the meetings of the committee for the preparation of the international meeting in November and March. They had an active share in the work of the editorial working group and its sub-committee for the elaboration of the draft of the main document.

The main task of the preparatory committee's meeting in Budapest in November 1968 was to guarantee the continuity of the political and organizational preparation of the international meeting in the meaning of the decisions of the consultative meeting.

The meeting in November decided to convene the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in May 1969. It took concrete decisions for the further elaboration of the draft documents by the editorial working group and its sub-committee.

After this meeting the elaboration of the draft of the main document was given greatest attention. As a result of a thorough, fundamental and comradely discussion the working group of the preparatory committee, which met in Moscow from 19 to 22 March 1969 tabled the draft of the main document.

The Political Bureau has dealt with the results of the preparatory commission's meeting in March and assessed it as positive. By the elaboration and the detailed discussion of the draft of the main document, by the decision to submit a document paying homage to the 100th birthday of Vladimir Ilych Lenin to the international meeting, by stipulating the definite date of the beginning of the international meeting in Moscow on 5 June, 1969, as well as by the unanimous settlement of a number of other political and organizational questions important decisions have been taken for the successful preparation of the world forum of Communists.

The draft of the main document which has been submitted by the preparatory committee to the central committees of all Communist and workers' parties for consideration is in the hands of the Central Committee. It corresponds to the stipulations of the consultative meeting. It deals with the questions which are items of the agenda of the international meeting: the tasks in the struggle against imperialism in the present stage and the unity of action of the Communist and workers' parties, of all anti-imperialist forces. In addition to the concrete tasks of the common struggle against imperialism the draft contains an analysis of the main processes of international developments. The document expressly affirms the Marxist-Leninist assessment of the character of our epoch proceeding from a correct analysis of the international constellation of forces.

The draft contains a most detailed description of the dangers emanating from imperialism and formulates a number of particularities of the present strategy and tactics of imperialism. The draft fully corresponds to the standpoint of our party concerning the most important questions of the struggle for European security, such as the exposure of the aggressive policy of West German imperialism, and the assessment of the role of the German Democratic Republic as an important factor of peace and security in Europe. The decisive role of the world Socialist system, especially of the Soviet Union in the world-wide revolutionary struggle is clearly expressed. The draft formulates the task of the Communist and workers' parties of the Socialist countries for developing the Socialist system, for defending the Socialist achievements against imperialist attacks, for mastering the scientific and technological revolution, and for deepening the cooperation between the Socialist countries. The draft also reaffirms the leading role of the working class and defines the political and socio-economic problems of the national-revolutionary liberation movement.

The Political Bureau recommends to the Central Committee to approve the draft of the main document as the basis for the international meeting.

Alone the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Communist and workers' parties is directly taking part in the elaboration of the draft documents testifies to the democratic and collective form of

the preparations for the international meeting. Already in this stage of preparations for the world conference a constructive and creative generalization of the rich experience of the Communist and workers' parties was obtained. The universality of Leninism and the diversity of conditions under which the fraternal parties are working were taken into consideration. It has been confirmed anew that the striving for unity and uniform standpoints on the basic questions of the common struggle despite differences of opinion is the main characteristic of the present stage of development of the world Communist movement.

### **International Exchange of Delegations and Experience of the SED**

In the period under review our party endeavoured to develop relations with the Communist and workers' parties as well as with the democratic and national-revolutionary parties. Last year 132 delegations and consultant groups of 71 fraternal parties and friendly parties visited the German Democratic Republic for studies and discussions at the invitation of the Central Committee. The representatives of these parties were able to make themselves acquainted in detail with the construction of the developed social system of Socialism in our Republic.

It was in particular the systematic exchange of study delegations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which made it possible for our party to gather much concrete experience in theoretical and political work, in the struggle for meeting the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution and of expert management.

In the period under review the relations with the Polish United Workers' Party were also strengthened. This manifested itself in the participation of a delegation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany led by its First Secretary Walter Ulbricht, in the 5th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, as well as in the visit of a delegation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party led by its First Secretary, Wladyslaw Gomulka, to the German Democratic Republic. Both delegations conducted a thorough and fruitful exchange of views and

experiences on problems concerning the development of Socialist society in the German Democratic Republic and in the People's Republic of Poland, the all-round development of fraternal relations between the two parties and states, and the tasks for strengthening the community of Socialist states. Problems under discussion also concerned the common struggle for peace and security in Europe and in the world. The negotiations resulted in the conclusion of agreements on a considerable expansion of the close cooperation between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Polish United Workers' Party in the political-ideological, economic and cultural fields. The deliberations proceeded in an atmosphere of cordial friendship, mutual understanding and full agreement of both parties in all questions discussed.

The visit of a delegation including the Political Bureau members of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Comrades Jaszczuk and Gierek, has also contributed to strengthening the relations.

On 21 March this year, the working people of the Hungarian People's Republic marked the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The anniversary of this important event in the history of the Hungarian people and the international working-class movement met with lively public interest in the German Democratic Republic. A party and government delegation from the German Democratic Republic headed by the Political Bureau member Friedrich Ebert, took part in the festivities in Budapest marking the 50th anniversary of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, in response to an invitation of the party and government of the Hungarian People's Republic. It was emphasized when tribute was paid to the revolutionary uprising of the Hungarian working class of 50 years ago that the ideological political and organizational unity of the working class on a Marxist-Leninist basis and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party were the essential prerequisites for the establishment and successful defence of the power of the workers and peasants. It was also said that the experience gained by the October Revolution and during the Socialist-Communist construction in the Soviet Union are of internationally valid importance.

The participation of a delegation of the Central Committee of

the Socialist Unity Party of Germany led by Walter Ulbricht, in the international scientific conference in Moscow on 25 and 26 March, which was held on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist International, was of particular importance. Leading representatives of many Communist and workers' parties met at an historic place to utilize the fundamental experience gained by the Communist International for today's class struggle between Socialism and imperialism and for the struggle of the Marxists-Leninists for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. This was the unanimous conception which became obvious in all speeches delivered during the time conference.

The conference unambiguously repudiated the conceptions of all imperialist ideologists who for many decades have been falsifying the history and historical importance of the Comintern, in the spirit of the Anti-Comintern-Pact. It clearly rebuffed the revisionist, petty-bourgeois, nationalist conceptions which try to contest the international validity of Leninism, the Marxism of our time. The participation in and the speech delivered by Walter Ulbricht at the conference were of great political importance because he belongs to the generation of outstanding leaders of the international working class who emerged from the Marxist-Leninist parties organized in the Comintern and were steeled by them.

In the period under review a delegation of our party led by Paul Verner, member of the Political Bureau, visited the Republic of Cuba. Another delegation headed by Werner Jarowsky, alternate member of the Political Bureau, paid a visit to Cyprus. Delegations of the French Communist Party, of the African Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands visited the German Democratic Republic. The congress of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity and the congress of the Italian Communist Party were attended by a delegation led by the member of the Political Bureau Albert Norden. Kurt Seibt, Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission, led a delegation to the congress of the Communist Party of Israel. A delegation headed by Erich Mückenberger, member of the Political Bureau, took part in the congress of the Communist Party of Finland. A delegation of our party led by Alois Bräutigam, member of the Central Committee,

and First Secretary of the Erfurt County Committee, attended the congress of the German Communist Party.

These meetings with the fraternal parties took place in order to deepen relations between our parties, to explain the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in the shaping of the developed social system of Socialism, to exchange views on the struggle of the Marxists-Leninists for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement and on problems relating to the common struggle for peace and security and against imperialism.

### **Consolidation of the Fraternal Relations with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia**

From 6 to 8 February 1969, Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, conducted talks in Berlin with the representative of the Central Committee of our party, Hermann Axen, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee. As a result of this exchange of views a plan was agreed upon for the development of relations between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia providing for the exchange of experience and delegations between our parties in 1969.

In the meantime the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party held a meeting at which it took decisions aimed at consolidating the positions of Socialism in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic which is fraternally linked with us. We regard it as positive that the Czechoslovak party leadership has found a way to solve the problems being up for decision.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of our party, Walter Ulbricht, conveyed cordial congratulations to the newly elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Gustav Husak on behalf of the Central Committee. He wished Gustav Husak and the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party strength and success in the great work for the consolidation of Socialism in Czechoslovakia, in our common struggle for the strengthening of the unity and power of

the community of Socialist states, in the struggle for the cohesion and unity of action of the international Communist movement, for peace and security in Europe and in the world. It is small wonder that the imperialists deeply regret the recent developments in Czechoslovakia. What is a tragedy for the imperialists, as US President Nixon put it, is an agreeable event for all Socialists, for all honest people in the world. The rulers in West Germany had to put up with another defeat.

### **On the Situation in the People's Republic of China**

The party and state leadership of the German Democratic Republic, the members of our party, the citizens of the German Democratic Republic emphatically condemn the bloody provocations perpetrated by the Mao-Tse-tung group at the Soviet-Chinese border against the Socialist Soviet Union.

This policy of the Chinese leaders directly plays into the hands of imperialism. It is no accident that the Mao-Tse-tung group committed the armed provocations against the Soviet Union, the bulwark of Socialism, at a time when West German imperialism organized a serious, peace-endangering provocation in West Berlin, in the heart of Europe, and when the Israeli aggressors stepped up their military provocations against the Arab states. At the same time the adventurous, anti-Soviet actions of the Mao-Tse-tung group encouraged US imperialism to continue its criminal aggression against the Vietnamese people and to further impede the negotiations in Paris.

We fully support the resolute actions of the Soviet Union to ward off the armed provocations on the Ussuri river organized by the Mao-Tse-tung group. Thus the imperialist plans which aim at utilizing the policy of the Mao-Tse-tung group for the creation of a kind of second front in the struggle against Socialism were thwarted and a great service was rendered to the cause of Socialism.

The Mao-Tse-tung group tries with its adventurous actions to torpedo the growing unity of action and cohesion of the world Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces, in particular

the preparations for the International Meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. They are also aimed at creating a chauvinistic psychosis among the Chinese population by agitating against the Soviet Union. The growing difficulties of the military-bureaucratic regime of the Mao-Tse-tung group in the interior policy are thus to be camouflaged and the Chinese people are to be deluded as to the true reasons of their difficult situation.

On 1 April 1969 the Mao-Tse-tung group opened a congress of its supporters labelled as "9th Congress of the Communist Party of China". The preparations for this congress in camera and its carrying out proves that it had nothing in common with the congress of a Communist party. It demonstrated that the present Chinese leaders have completely turned away from Marxism-Leninism and from the resolutions of the 8th congress of the Communist Party of China held in 1956, which had adopted a realistic line for Socialist construction and the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China. The present situation in China is characterized by the contradiction between the socio-economic basis, which rests on the social property of the means of production, and the political superstructure. The political superstructure of the people's democracy in the People's Republic of China has been largely destroyed in the course of the notorious "cultural revolution" by the disorganization of the Communist Party, of the elected organs of the state power and of the mass organizations.

The Mao-Tse-tung group availed itself of the so-called 9th party congress to sanction its military-bureaucratic dictatorship and to constitute a new political organization using the glorious name of the Communist Party of China. The policy of the Mao-Tse-tung group involves great dangers for the Chinese people, for the continuance of Socialism in China. It is detrimental to the common struggle of all anti-imperialist forces and of the Communist and worker's parties. The struggle against this policy is therefore an indispensable task of every Marxist-Leninist party.

But we are convinced that the Chinese people and the upright Chinese Communists will one day find the strength to overcome the present crisis. We have never identified the Chinese people with the Mao-Tse-tung group. Our attitude towards the Chinese people

will also in future be marked by feelings of friendship and proletarian internationalism.

Dear comrades!

We all think that the period under review was a time rich in tasks and decisions. The question in point was the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 9th meeting of the Central Committee. It is necessary now to concentrate all our strength on the further all-round strengthening of our Socialist homeland so that we will be able to celebrate new great successes in the shaping of the developed social system of Socialism on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic.



